

# WEEKLY PEOPLE

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## GEMS OF THOUGHT

working class do not count, any more than cattle.

President McCrea of the Pennsylvania Railroad writes an official letter to a certain other official informing the latter that, during the year 1908, his road had killed 657 and injured 791—what? Cows? Sheep? Hogs? No—it had killed 657 and injured 791 “trespassers,” that is, men out of work, looking for work, and, being too poor to pay for transportation, stealing a ride. And to what official was the letter addressed? To Orlando F. Lewis of the Charity Organization Society.

There is just a little bit of information waiting to the press despatches from Omaha that report the quitting of the Prohibition party by John G. Woolley, its Presidential candidate in 1900, and otherwise a rampant advocate of the Prohibitionist political faith. Mr. Woolley is reported to have his conduct on the ground that “the usefulness of the Prohibition party is ended.” What is wanting in the despatches is information of the lure, or promise of lucre, outside of the Prohibition party that caused Mr. Woolley to take his present view of things.

Elliot Flower’s article on “Uncle Sam’s Vanishing Wealth” in “La Follette’s” contains a short sentence that is a matchless pen-picture of foot-in-the-mouth capitalist society. The passage is: “We are losing a billion tons of fertile soil each year by erosion, largely the result of floods that have followed deforestation, and we are kept busy dredging this soil out of our navigable rivers in order to keep them navigable.”

“Why don’t you tell us that it is wrong to cut up poor animals?” insisted Miss Gregory in the lecture room at Columbia University when Dr. Albert Leffingwell refused to speak against vivisection. On the same page of the morning papers containing this report, and in several of them, in contiguous columns, was the report of 150 miners cut up and entombed in the Durham mine. Against the “cutting up of poor working-men” these vivisectionists have not a word to say.

The “proletarian element” in local New York of the Socialist party had better “go slow.” This thing of passing “scathing resolutions” against Robert Hunter and other “eminencies” for “contemptuous treatment”—such as was bestowed upon the said proletarian element when the “eminencies” raised themselves into a Chinese Wall around Keir Hardie, never allowing them even to touch the hem of his Parliament toga, to say nothing of granting them never a taste or even a smell of the wine and other goodies that they feasted the “English Marxist” with—this thing of “condemning” such acts may ease the stomach of the mind of the said “proletarian element,” but it may have rather disagreeable practical consequences. The affluent owners of the “Call” may give the innocent denouncers a second taste of private ownership of the “party press.” One taste of that sort of thing should be enough. It was given when the life was squeezed out of the “Bogus People,” subsequent “Worker” and final “New York Socialist” by “private owners” in order to prove that party ownership was unpractical. The denounced eminent owners of the “Call” may walk away with it.

The Mackay Company reports that it does not fear any strikes from its Postal Telegraph Association employees. The company announces there is “peace in Warsaw.” The said Association of employees has been organized by the Company and is officiated by the Company. This is the latest form of partnership between Capital and Labor.

Miss M. Rosenberg of an I. W. W. Local in New York, without the knowledge or consent of the Editor of The People, challenged last year Emma Goldman to a debate with him. Emma Goldman’s answer contains this passage as a reason for declining the challenge: “Mr. De Leon has for a number of years wilfully and maliciously misrepresented the Anarchists and the movement I represent, that I do not care to debate with him.” Emma Goldman’s declination does credit to her intelligence; nor is the lady’s perspicacity impaired by the girlish petulance of the alleged “reason” for declining. The People has broken the backbone, ribs and skull, the legs and arms of “Anarchist philosophy.” She realizes the fact, most of her associates do not. That much to her credit, it

## IF LINCOLN KNEW!

It should not require the analytical penetration of a Poe to discern the peculiarly ignoble use that noble Lincoln has been put to—or attempted to be put to—by his year’s praise-singers. At the recurring anniversaries of the Washingtons, the Jeffersons and other celebrities of the land their great achievements and their distinguished abilities are extolled. This, indeed, was also done with regard to Lincoln. Nevertheless in this year’s “Lincoln orations,” or articles,—whether proceeding from Canadian Goldwin Smith, or Presidential Roosevelt; whether proceeding from Carnegie, or this Senator, or that Representative, or any of the raft of vocal College Presidents;—a particular effort was made to particularly emphasize a LIE—the alleged “pinching poverty” of Lincoln’s youth “which in nothing interfered with his march to headship.”

The “pinching poverty” of many of our truly great men is usually a mere poetic fiction to answer rhetorical exigencies. In the instance of Lincoln, this year—in the midst of the intensifying consequences of an unparalleled crisis; with over a thousand “vagrants” admittedly killed and injured by one single railroad line; with the large

number of bankruptcies telling of untold and secretly borne privations; with headlines swelling with thousands of people admittedly there through no fault of their own; with a simultaneous brazen display of increasingly Asiatic luxury; and with, as a consequence, widespread, and all the more ominous because still silent, discontent—at such a time the outburst of macaronics, indulged in over Lincoln’s “pinching poverty,” is a deliberate fabrication for a purpose.

No doubt the migrations from Kentucky to Indiana, Illinois and farther West, to which the Lincoln family belonged, were not undertaken on railroads. No doubt these emigrants did not enjoy the comforts of running water, that did not always run; of gas, less yet electric lights; of the facilities of closets within doors that bred typhus; or the luxuries of a great variety of canned and embalmed edibles. No doubt the pictures of their log cabins compare badly with the pretentious stone front double-deckers in which the workers are to-day pigeon-holed. Nevertheless “pinching poverty” was alien to the former.

Though humble in aspect, there was dignity to their homes. As to food, all the works descriptive of those days—

those works not being written to order at a season when Plunder and Exploitation are beginning to reap the hurricane, and when it is deemed advisable to narcotize into imbecile acquiescence the truly poverty pinched of to-day—those works tell a tale very different from that of “pinching poverty.” The work “The Making of a Nation,” for instance, makes particular mention of the Lincoln family itself. The Lincoln’s wedding feast was not exquisite, but ample and good. It would feed whole breadlines of to-day. The wild turkey was a meal ready for the emigrant’s gun to bring down, and fresh fish, and fresh air, and personal dignity raised the Lincoln generation far above the carpenter’s cares and irritations that the poverty, known of to-day, afflicts the masses with.

If the man who said: “The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers”—if the man, who prophetically, and warningly and rebelliously uttered these words, only knew to what uses the Spirit that he fought, and overthrew, but has re-isen is seeking to turn his anniversary!

Telegraphers’ Union, which gives the company which rules them the right of absolutely running the affairs of the Union, thus relinquishing all the self-governing rights conquered by the American Revolution. This voluntary relinquishing of rights can only point to decline.

“All these things,” the speaker said, “point to a growing worse of conditions. Moreover, if we look at the figures, wages have gone down. But they have gone down even further than the figures indicate. I have often polled my audiences for raises of wages. In my last trip across the continent I found only one man whose wages had gone up in the last eight years, and he admitted that eight years ago he had not been of working age.

“Unions seem to raise wages. Say a man earns \$2 daily. In 300 working days in a year, he would get \$600. He enters a union. His wages are raised to \$5. But owing to the increased uncertainty of work, he may work only 100 days. At the end of the year he has \$500. His wages have gone up! His EARNINGS have gone down. The decrease in earnings, then, is symptom No. 7.

“Then there is the adulteration of goods. Senator Stewart of Idaho, speaking in the Senate on December 12, 1906, said: ‘I do not think the country has any idea of the poisons administered in foods. It is sapping the constitution of the people. If we had to raise soldiers as we did in 1861, I doubt whether we could find them.’ Clothing is also frightfully adulterated. The result of this on health and life is obvious. There is symptom No. 8.

“So much for the physical condition of the people. The land is also being deteriorated. Fertile land is wasted, for deserts destroyed, etc. The country is being treated as Europe was by the Vandals.

“In all the recent Lincoln speeches, great point was made of Lincoln’s ‘pinching poverty.’ That is an absolute lie, deliberately told to narcotize people’s senses against the actual pinching poverty of to-day. Lincoln’s family, and the Kentucky migration of which it formed part, may not have had the supposed ‘comforts’ of to-day, but they had food and clothing in abundance.

“So, then, things are getting worse. But is it a misfortune? No, it is a decided fortune. The sufferings of any social period cannot be looked at in the abstract. The present social distress is a condition that does not portend worse, it portends better—it portends revolution. The present physical sufferings and discomfort are marshalling the people into shape for the next step in industrial government.

“And it is not the suffering which is making for progress, but the conditions which underly and cause it. Those conditions are drilling the race to its duty in overthrowing the class which is to stand between it and plenty.”

**TREADWELL MINERS’ STRIKE.**  
Douglas, Alaska. February 4.—The strike in the Treadwell mines in Douglas, Alaska, is still in progress there, and hundreds of sturdy, honest and true miners are struggling for an eight-hour day and living conditions. These miners ask that they may toll in these “slaughter shops” eight hours for a paltry wage and afterwards be able to enjoy it in peace with their families. Even this has been denied them.

Workingmen are asked not to listen to employment agents who say that there is work on Douglas Island. These agents generally say that help is needed on railroads and sawmills. There are no railroads short of Skagway. Another lie which these agents tell is that all the strikers are Slavonians.

The Douglas Miners’ Union has issued an appeal asking all workingmen to stay away from the mines, so as to allow the strikers to win their fight.

**THE PARTY FESTIVAL.**  
The Daily and Weekly People Festival arranged by Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, and held in Grand Central Palace on Sunday, February 21, was a brilliant success in point of attendance and in the enjoyment provided. The financial returns will also measure up well. It is as yet impossible to give figures, there being many receipts outstanding. But a round surplus has been produced for Section New York and the Party Press. The bazaar at this festival far outshone that of last Thanksgiving Day, the Party’s many friends and supporters having sent a collection of splendid gifts.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

## SYDNEY LETTER

AUSTRALIAN “WORKERS’ PARADE” A MYTH.

Labor There Exploited and Beaten Same as Here—Lockout of Broken Hill Miners—That ‘Labor Party’—Free Speech Suppressed—Jack London Feasted by Bourgeois.

Sydney, N. S. W., Australia, January 18.—After eighteen years of “Labor” legislation the workers of Australia are still in the category of merchandise, bought and sold in the open market. Unemployment is rampant, and strikes and lockouts are the order of the day. Wages have declined, and commodities have risen, and the class war goes interminably on in this Australia; the “Workers’ Paradise,” the “Socialist Utopia” that Upton Sinclair refers to in the concluding chapters of his work, “The Jungle.”

Capitalism is the same the world over: its business methods never vary. Here as elsewhere the machine goes in and the man goes out. Adulterated food and shoddy clothing only for the workers, who, after years of strenuous toil for their tyrant masters, are thrown on the scrap heap.

At this writing, the craft union miners of the Barrier Silver mines, Broken Hill, in the far west of N. S. W., are locked out by the owners, who seek to reduce the slavery pittance of the miners. Abortive conferences were held but without avail.

The population of Broken Hill is about 35,000, mostly miners. The divining-drawing parasites live in regal splendor in London, and in the large Australian cities.

The largest mine, “The Proprietary,” mines 40,000 tons of ore monthly and in twenty years has mined 9,000,000 tons, paying \$45,000,000 to its wage slaves while \$60,000,000 in dividends have gone into the capacious pockets of its idle shareholders, who have not had to suffer its tropical heat, nor be slain and maimed in the cuttings, nor be led, nor take the risks that the workers constantly run.

The Broken Hill miners are militant and progressive, there being a good leave of Socialists among them. The State “Labor” party’s precious piece of legislation, the Arbitration Act, proved an absolute failure and the autocratic State government rushed through the Legislature a hideous abortion called “The Industrial Disputes Act,” rendering strikes and picketing illegal, and under which strikers can be incarcerated and their union funds confiscated. This Act raised but a feeble protest from the Labor party. Truly, Australia is the Fakers’ Paradise, not the Workers’.

Prior to the lockout large bodies of police were drafted to Broken Hill at the instigation of the master class. The mines were picketed by the locked out men to induce those already in the mines to come out. On January 9, while the pickets were being changed, a skirmish occurred between the police thugs and the miners, many men being ruthlessly clubbed. Tom Mann, the union’s organizer, and prominent leaders were arrested and hustled unceremoniously to the local bull pen. They fought valiantly against overwhelming odds, but the armed police thugs had the advantage against unarmed men. The miners, on the advice of their leaders, wisely refrained from being drawn into a riot, thereby giving their enemies a pretext to mow down by machine guns.

Many explosions occurred through the agency of the mine owners. The purpose of this manoeuvre was to alienate public sympathy from the miners. Flaring head- and sensational columns appear in all the capitalist dailies, and their hireling press reporters are on the field to fake reports for their masters.

The police thugs were carried to Broken Hill by the railroad craft unions. Fisher, the Federal “Labor” Premier, says the constitution must not be violated, and the Federal troops will be sent to suppress the strike if called upon by the State. McGowen, State “Labor” leader of N. S. W., says “the law must be obeyed.”

Organized on craft union lines, the

(Continued on Page 2)

# WHAT MEAN THESE STRIKE STATISTICS?

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR IS IMPOTENT—INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION IS THE ONLY ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

By Axel Staal, Jersey City, N. J.

I was looking through the World Almanac, when the words "Strikes and Lock-Outs" caught my eye. I saw there the following statistics:

Strikes ordered by labor organizations.

Percentage of establishments in which strikes—

	Succeeded	Succeeded partly	Failed
1881	64.99	6.71	28.30
1882	56.26	9.54	34.10
1883	64.07	18.31	17.62
1884	55.62	3.25	41.13
1885	62.42	10.58	27.00
1886	33.46	20.45	46.06
1887	48.36	7.19	44.45
1888	56.17	4.99	38.84
1889	45.61	21.37	33.02
1890	58.99	10.17	35.84
1891	35.46	8.10	53.44
1892	39.33	8.75	51.92
1893	53.94	10.89	35.17
1894	37.25	13.67	48.88
1895	59.25	10.05	30.70
1896	62.47	6.55	30.98
1897	59.67	29.51	10.82
1898	69.74	6.15	24.11
1899	76.23	14.19	9.45
1900	48.06	21.95	29.99
1901	50.38	17.19	32.45
1902	48.31	23.72	27.97
1903	41.72	23.77	34.51
1904	35.75	15.59	48.66
1905	41.58	11.30	47.12

What do these figures tell?

If you take the percentage of strikes lost in 1904 and 1905, we see that only in the beginning of the "nineties," under Cleveland's second administration, did the percentage of strikes lost equal that of 1904 and 1905. And while Cleveland's administration was marked by great unemployment, the years of 1904 and 1905 were, as Roosevelt says, of "unparalleled prosperity." If the figures for 1907 and 1908 were available, I believe they would show a still more disastrous result to the wage workers.

The average duration of strikes varied from 12.7 days in 1881 to 35.5 days in 1904. The percentage of establishments in which strikes occurred which were closed by strikes, carried from 52.82 per cent. in 1895 to 45.54 per cent. in 1905. In these ten years the trade unions lost half of their power to force the factories and mills to close in case of strikes, despite a great gain in membership. The striking lithographers managed only to close ten per cent. of the establishments against which strikes were declared. Remember this for later reference. The increase in membership, in other words, did not bring strength to the trade union movement any more than the increase in membership in the Socialist party brings us to Socialism.

Therefore the principles and tactics of the trade unions MUST be wrong.

The unions should protect the workingman against capitalist exploitation,

and through strikes attack the capitalist in an endeavor to better the condition of the workers.

Two countries each have ten battleships with single armor plate and four to six inch guns. The one country builds ten new battleships with double armor plate and four to twelve inch guns, while the other country builds twenty battleships similar to their old ships. In an ensuing battle the six inch shells cannot penetrate the double armor plate, and the single armor plate rips under the heavy twelve inch shells. The many, but antiquated ships consequently lose the battle.

Such is the conflict between the trade unions and the capitalists of today.

The capitalists have developed the wonderful industries in the last few years, and through the substitution of machines for skilled tradesmen encased themselves in double armor plate.

These great money powers are also firing heavier shells against the unions in the form of court decisions, rendered by judges, who, if Senator Tillman is right, are to a great extent in the pay of the corporations.

And there stand the trade unions.

Their defense has only been slightly strengthened through the increase in membership, but their weapons of attack are the same and as useful as a thin stick for punishing an elephant. You may annoy the elephant a little, but that is all.

If the unions are to be the weapon of the workingman on the economic field, their principles must be changed.

The fight is against capitalist-owned industries, and only industrial organizations of the workers have a chance in this "fight" to a finish. If we are industrially organized, our shell, the

plant the daily papers, and we hope to give the public such in "Pressen."

"Pressen" will be a combined edition of—[Here follow the names of eleven capitalistic newspapers.]

(Signed)

Masters' and Employers' Association.

To this the printers' union replied as follows:

In answer to the statements published by the Masters' and Employers' Association, that Dansk Typograf Forbund had forced upon the public the present state of affairs, be it known that this strike was ordered AFTER a lockout had been declared by the employers against part of our membership, following the employers' repudiation of the claim of the lithographers' union. (Signed)

Dansk Typograf Forbund.

This answer placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the Employers' Association. This association had some time previous promised the lithographers the same hours of work as the typographical men had (eight hours a day), but broke its promise and brought about a strike. Scenting danger in the form of a sympathetic strike they ordered a lock-out of the union printers in the book-printing plants.

Then all the printers struck by order of the union, which could not have part of the membership discriminated against.

The newspapers published were jokes resembling papers of fifty years ago. Fifty provincial papers were entirely stopped. Some appeared in single sheets of four columns, printed only on one side. The fact that the Socialist papers were published seemed to irritate the reactionaries more than anything else. One capitalist paper managed to print the following:

"The Socialist newspapers do not suffer. The strike evidently is an attempt to block utterances from the employers. Only the Socialist version of the conflict is published. We are all readers and publishers alike, brought into a serious conflict. Now when the Socialists demand municipal and governmental support for the unemployed, these same gentlemen start trouble in well-paid trades and try to prevent people, who do not read Socialist sheets, from reading the news of the day. And it all came about over some unimportant differences, that are of no account compared to the present conflict. It is entirely nonsensical."

Yes, certainly! It was especially nonsensical to the capitalists because the workers had the situation well in hand. On the 16th of August only the first three named newspapers appeared. Two non-Socialist provincial papers were also printed; but the Socialist papers were the only real source of information and their sales increased immensely. The capitalistic newspapers had the news of the day painted on sign boards during the day and thrown on screens with magic lanterns by night.

In the restaurants, the people were exasperated. No papers! A few copies of Swedish papers arrived and were fought for. Some people in their directories so as to have a little something to enjoy with their coffee.

Finally a compromise was arrived at. The lithographers had the nine hour day reduced to eight and one-half hours per day and, on January 1, 1910, a further reduction to eight hours will go into effect. In the book-printing, book-binding and paper-mill trades work-commenced on August 18. Newspapers appeared in the afternoon of August 17.

Does anybody think that the little handful of lithographers could have won their strike, without the sympathetic action of the typographical union? Just look at the strike of the lithographers here in this country three years ago. Was that strike over in eight days? Did they win? No! But they had the satisfaction of knowing that they throughout the strike recognized that fundamental principle of pure and simple trade unionism, which says that the interests of employer and employee are identical. The printers here did not quit work, as this would have been against the interests of the bosses, and only ten per cent. of the lithographing plants were forced to close.

It may not be thought that the Danes got what they should have gotten, but it should be considered that at the same time the American workers were trying to prevent cuts in wages or lengthening of the hours, and were never thinking of striking for better conditions, it being at a time when great unemployment prevailed both in

Denmark and here.

Would not the figures in the World Almanac look different if we had a true, class-conscious, industrial union with as large a membership as the A. F. of L.? Without doubt they would and we will get such an organization, never fear.

The most inspiring episode in the whole strike was the action of the Swedish and German printers. In a year of hard times, they declined to do work, which would have brought them extra pay, and chose possible loss of jobs and other inconveniences, in order to help fellow workingmen in another country.

Hail to Socialism, with its Internationalism, teaching the workingman of one country that a workingman, speaking another language and living under another emblem of oppression called "the flag," is nearer to him than the exploiting class of his own nationality. May the day soon come when sufficient numbers of workingmen will answer in the words of Comrade Kircher, spoken at the ratification meeting in Cooper Union last July: "When anybody asks me: 'What is your religion? What is your nationality?' I say: I AM A WORKING-MAN!"

## THE INTERNATIONAL

### Marching Song of the French revolutionary proletariat.

Stand up! ye wretched ones who labor, Stand up! ye galley-slaves of want. Man's reason thunders from its crater, 'Tis th' eruption naught can daunt. Of the past let us cleanse the tables, Mass enslaved, fling back the call, Old Earth is changing her foundations, We have been nothing, now be all.

Chorus—

'Tis the last call to battle, Close the ranks, each in place, The staunch old International Shall be the human race:

(Repeat Chorus.)

There are no saviors e'er will help us, Nor God, nor Caesar, nor Tribune, 'Tis ours, O workers, must the blows be, That shall win the common boon. From the thief to wring his stolen booty, 'Tis we ourselves must ply the bellows, 'Tis we must beat the anvils' roll:

(Chorus.)

The state is false, the law a mock'ry, And exploitation bows us down; The rich man flaunts without a duty, And the poor man's rights are none. Long enough have we in swaddlings languished,

Lo, Equality's new law: "Away with rights that know no duties, Away with duties shorn of rights."

(Chorus.)

All hideous in their brutal lordship, Stand king of mill and mine and rail. When have they e'er performed a service, Or at work done aught but qual?

In the coffers of these robber barons, Blind the world's great wealth is thrown,

In summing them to restitution,

The people seeks but what's its own.

(Chorus.)

Toilers from shop and field united, The Party we of all who work; The earth belongs to those who labor, Hence! the idler and the shirk!

Say, how many on our flesh have feasted?

But if all this vampire flight Should vanish from the sky some morn-

ing, The sun will still shine on as bright!

(Chorus.)

The kings, they smother us in gun-smoke, Oh, peace between us, war to them!

The Strike! Apply it to the armies,

Fire in air, break ranks again!

And if still these cannibals and tyrants

Would of us make "heroes" curse,

Soon shall they learn that our own gen-

erals,

Will taste our rifle fire the first!

(Chorus.)

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## SYDNEY LETTER.

(Continued from page 1.)

miners will be defeated. The I. W. W. is the only union.

The Australian Socialist movement is meeting with troublous times at present. Free speech is suppressed and intellectual meetings in Socialist halls on Sundays are prohibited. The temperance and religious freaks have flooded the State Legislature with their representatives, and tyrannical laws are the result. The closing of saloons and the abolition of sport only accentuate the misery of the workers, because of the only recreation accessible to them being flushed from them by the capitalist class, who aid and abet the fanatics, thereby keeping the workers divided against the real issue, the abolition of capitalism, and the inauguration of the Socialist Republic.

"Wowers" is the local term applied to the hypocritical Bible bangers and teetotal cranks.

The ceaseless propaganda and energetic activity during the last few years of the S. L. P. and I. W. W. clubs, is beginning to take effect.

Australia has the most liberal franchise in the world. One adult, one vote. And yet, owing to prejudices, religious and racial, fostered by the master class, the wage slaves are hopelessly divided and constantly elect their enemies to still further exploit them.

Jack London, the "celebrated" author and "authority" on Socialism is in Sydney, but has given the Socialist Labor Party a wide berth. He is the petted darling of the local plutocrats. He contributes to, and is interviewed by the capitalist press; he has wine and dined with the brigands of capitalism, and fraternizes with them. "Perhaps" he is doing propaganda work for Socialism! "These are your gods, O, Israel!"

FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF S. P. MEN.

The "Boston Traveler," it seems, is well able to put the Socialist party straight on the true principles of Socialism. At least, that paper can tell the "opportunist" gentlemen something as to what is NOT Socialism. Incidentally the "Traveler" also sides up well the "gentlemen Socialists."

The following appears in the "Traveler" of February 15:

The Boston "Traveler" has consistently opposed the policy called Socialism, because it knows that vast numbers of people are being misled by plausible arguments which attempt to prove that almost every forward step of civilization is Socialist in character, when, as a matter of fact, such communal acts as public works, roads, bridges, the post office, etc., are essentially Democratic, providing the approach to them is gradual and that human rights and individual liberties are guarded in their adoption, which they could not be under Socialism.

Socialists attempt impudently to appropriate as their own all that is good in Democracy, and even in Christianity, but in any given group of Socialists it is difficult to find any two in agreement as to what Socialism means and what it really stands for, a case in point being the recent Socialist conference held in Boston, where parlor Socialists, college professors and amateur theorists, who have never done anything constructive for their kind, let escape a flood of high-sounding words which are susceptible of a variety of interpretations and mean nothing at best. The conference is one of the show window products of Socialism, and is held in the hope to get converts from those who have nothing to do and need something to occupy their minds. The real propaganda is being made among a different class, the wage workers, and vastly different arguments are being used.

History. EUGENE SUE'S Fiction.

## MINERS' WIDOWS

### SUE FOR COMPENSATION FOR THEIR SLAUGHTERED HUSBANDS.

Declare Union Pacific Coal Company Practically Murdered Their Miners—Charges of Gross and Criminal Negligence in Operating Fatal Mines.

Cheyenne, Wyo., February 19.—Suits

# SIMPLE STUDIES in SOCIALISM

A BRIEF HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY OUTLINE.

By WM. H. CUSACK,  
Chicago Ill.

(Continued.)

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

Since the dissolution of primitive tribal communism, society has consisted of classes. Chattel slavery was the beginning of class society, the slave being the property of the master. The worker under Feudalism was chained to the soil, and the soil was owned by the feudal lord. Under the present system, the worker in order to get access to the land and machinery must first consult the capitalist who owns these instruments of production. Thus we see that all systems of society since the inception of private property have consisted of classes.

This existence of classes, one class being ruled by another, brought into existence a class struggle; a struggle between oppressor and oppressed. Ancient history teems with records of the revolts of slaves against their masters, and the history of the Middle Ages tells a long story of class warfare.

The class struggle in present society is between capitalists and wage workers, whose class interests are diametrically opposed. On this head Daniel De Leon says:

"Between the working class and the capitalist class, there is an irrepressible conflict, a class struggle for life. No plumb-tongued politician can vault over it; no capitalist professor or official statistician can figure it away, no capitalist person can veil it; no labor faker can straddle it, nor can any reform architect ride it over. It crops up in all manner ways, as in strikes, etc. It is a struggle that will not down, and can be ended only by the total subjugation of working class, or the abolition of the capitalist class."

## SURPLUS VALUE.

The fundamental principle of modern Socialism is the theory of surplus value. The workers are but paid subsistence wages, and the surplus product of their labor over and above this subsistence wage is appropriated by the capitalist. While the workers' labor power, applied to land, etc., produces all wealth, they are obliged to content themselves with the meager share necessary to existence, and the capitalist class, with kings, lords and other social parasites, live luxuriously upon the surplus product of the workers. The worker receives but about one-fourth of his entire product, that is, he receives in wages about one-fourth of the value of his product, and the remainder is confiscated by the capitalist, who enjoys himself exceedingly while he works the workers.

To secure to the workers this surplus, implies a complete transformation of the system of production. It necessitates the collective ownership and management of machinery, mines, mills, factories, railroads, in short, all means of production. This can be accomplished only by a class-conscious political and industrial organization of the working class, drilled and disciplined. When the workers have assumed control over production and appropriate their whole product, the capitalist will be given the same option as any one else—go to work or starve.

## SOCIALISM NO SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY.

Most people in opposing Socialism are prone to inquire as to all the details under Socialism. They talk so much about "under Socialism" that one would be constrained to believe that Socialism was an umbrella, or something similar. They overlook all of the vital points in the Socialist philosophy, and consume their time in trying to find out just what a Socialist Republic would be like in all details. The average Socialist does not care to speculate as to the nature, in details, of such a regime, for the reason that the theories advanced by one are usually taken as the general consensus of opinion.

In this connection Daniel De Leon well observes, "The moment the field of the known is abandoned, and one launches out into pictures of future forms, a wide field is opened for speculation. Differences of opinion start over that which is probable or not probable. That which is set forth by one individual, must be taken only as the personal opinion of that very same individual, and possible attacks must be directed against him only."

## OBJECTIONS—INCENTIVE.

One of the stock objections to Socialism is that such a state of society would result in a loss of all incentive. It is often asked what kind of incentive is there. It is quite reasonable to assume that all incentive to graft, etc., would

necessarily be lacking under Socialism. The average man to-day merely does as little as possible for the largest returns, and most workingmen wouldn't do a tap of work if they knew that they could hold their jobs. "Killing time" is a common thing in factories and workshops. Workingmen realize that if they turn out a maximum product, they will work themselves out of a job that much sooner, and that they are not compensated for their hard work. They are stripped of all their surplus product, and are given just as much as it requires to keep them from starvation. They are just treated like a horse or mule—given enough to eat. They go to work to get the money to buy food to acquire the strength so that they can go to work to get the money to buy the food which gives them the strength to go to work again, and this process goes on endlessly. Under such conditions no one can blame a worker for "killing time" and getting as much as possible and giving as little as possible. It is perfectly consistent with the present graft system.

A "good" business man is one who can sell you a shoddy suit of clothes by lying and deceiving, by such methods as representing his wares as "all wool and a yard wide," and do all kinds of crooked work and avoid detection. The indispensable qualification of business is to have few scruples and be a first class liar. All the incentive under the present regime, generally speaking, is to "get the money and get it quick." The incentive to adulterate food is that of profit. The incentive to encourage people to become drunkards is that of profit.

Everything that is corrupt is caused by this profit-mongery. The incentive to do almost anything for profit is a result of the mercenary spirit which is part and parcel of the present system.

There would be plenty of encouragement for real incentive in a Socialist Republic. When a person receives full value for services rendered, it will arouse an incentive never before known.

## DESTROYING INDIVIDUALISM.

Another objection to Socialism is that "it would destroy individuality, and place everyone on a dead level." One would infer from this objection that the present system preserves one's individuality, but the system does nothing of the kind. To-day, we go into large industrial plants and see masses of men mere appendages to machines. They are known by numbers. One is number 13, another 23, and so on. They are herded together like so many wild animals, and worked to their fullest capacity for miserable wages. Here most of them remain, as it is impossible except for a few of them to get out of that slavish condition. Individuality to them is an absent quality. The present industrial system has destroyed the individuality of its wealth producers, yet those who benefit by present conditions have the effrontery to charge Socialism with their own crimes. Socialism will restore the individuality of the workers by recognizing them as men and not as slaves.

Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, in speaking of the central idea of Socialism, has this to say:

"The goal of human endeavor is the common well being of all alike, sought through conditions which provide for the fullest culture of each man as opposed to the special development of a race or a class, by the sacrifice of others in slavery or serfdom, or necessary subjection."

As to the assertion that Socialism is incompatible with freedom, we might ask what freedom is there for the masses under the present system? Nothing can be more certain than that under capitalism the freedom of the masses is merely nominal. If freedom is attained at all, it is at the expense of security. It is a choice of working under prescribed conditions, which are usually unhealthy, degrading, and dangerous, or of starving.

The freedom of contract is nothing but a humbug. The capitalist makes the conditions of contract, and specifies the amount of wages, and the worker is compelled to accept the terms or go hungry. In a word, the worker is about as free as a bird in a cage.

Socialism, by its inherent character, will bring about a human freedom never conceived of. This is inevitable, because it is a product of the evolutionary law. It is kindling the fires of human liberty, and is destined to emancipate the human race.

**SOCIALISM AND HUMAN NATURE.**  
It is often argued that "Socialism is contrary to human nature." Those who hold this argument, don't know what they mean when they harp on human

nature. This argument is merely an echo of the past. All idealistic society builders had human nature as their starting point in their dreams of social systems, and it is no wonder that they were all failures. Early Socialists were by this method confused in studying social phenomena. They thought that human nature was a fixed quantity, but this theory has been exploded. It is now known that human nature is variable, and subject to the laws of evolution just as much as anything else. It adapts itself with marvellous plasticity to new conditions.

There is quite a difference in the human nature of the savage and the civilized man. They have very different ideas, desires, tastes, customs, etc. The human nature of the Athenians under Pericles was different from the human nature of the Australian aborigines. The European is a different person than the Chinaman, and there is quite a difference between the enterprising New Englander and the inert native of Bengal, or the member of a Russian commune with his fixed and conservative routine of life. Since this is so, that human nature is variable, to prove about it shows a lack of historical knowledge.

Being a product of material conditions, human nature is subject to degradation, or elevation, and there is not the least doubt that Socialism will inevitably emancipate it from the degrading influences of capitalism. The present system with its dog-eat-dog struggle for existence, corrupts human nature and produces what might be called hog nature.

As Paul LaFargue says, (Social and Philosophical Studies) "The bourgeois social environment, based on individual property and mercantile production, erects into cardinal virtues the worst qualities of the human soul, egotism, hypocrisy, intrigue, profligacy and pilfering."

## CONFISCATION.

Some people object to Socialism on the ground that it will necessitate a confiscation of the means of production and distribution. This objection is not well founded. Socialism is no more confiscatory than was the American Revolution or the Civil War. It implies institution, and not confiscation. The working class has built the railroads, the mills, mines, and factories, and all the machinery of production and in return for this they have merely been fed etc. just like horses. The capitalist class has confiscated the whole surplus product of the workers and now that the workers are about to claim their own, we hear talk about "confiscation." Even if it were true that there would be "confiscation," what of it? The fact that Socialism will benefit the great majority of the people would justify such action. If under the private ownership of the means of life the great mass of the people suffer and degenerate at the bottom of the social scale, and a small class of vain parasites riot in luxury and idleness at the top, any means would be justified that would transform such a system into one of order and harmony. When the transformation is about to take place society will know what to do. To compensate the present owners of confiscated wealth is out of the question. Aside from its impracticability, it is as foolish as compensating burglars when their booty has been restored to its rightful owners. One might as well advocate the pensioning of horse thieves.

In speaking of the hereditary rights to titles, Prof. R. T. Ely (Outlines of Economics) has this to say: "Nothing can be more perilous than for the owners of hereditary rights to rest the justice of their claims upon its past origin. Few titles of long standing could be traced back very far without disclosing at some point violence or craft or fraud which the moral sense of the community would condemn."

In this connection Daniel De Leon, after showing how multimillionaire Levi P. Morton of New York started as a poor boy, and after failing in the clothing business, immediately after, STARTED A BANK, says, in reference to "original capital," or "original accumulation," and how it is usually acquired, "Read the biographies of the founders of capitalist concerns, and you will see that 'original accumulation' is the child of fraudulent failures and fires, of high-handed crime of some kind or other, or of the sneaking crime of appropriating trust funds, etc. With such 'original capital'—gotten, by dint of such 'cleverness,' 'push,' and 'industry'—as a weapon, the original capitalist proceeds to fleece the working class, that has been less industrious, 'pushing,' and 'clever' than he."

The working class must assume control over industry despite all the cries of "confiscation." The hereditary industrial tyranny of the capitalist class and their practice of exploiting the workers cannot long be acquiesced in. The "chieftains of industry" have long exhibited their incapacity of carrying on production without disaster. The workers—the great bulk of society—if they would save the race from social

shipwreck, must assert themselves and by virtue of their might proclaim the death-knell of capitalism and inaugurate the Socialist Industrial Republic, which means the emancipation of the human race.

The capitalist class, no matter how instrumental they have been in the organization of industry, have been, and are being well compensated by receiving the entire surplus product of labor. They have lived on the fat of the land while the workers have gone hungry. It is high time that the workers should enjoy the fruits of machine industry, and the benefits of civilization. This is practically impossible unless the means of life are socialized, which necessitates the abolition of the present system.

(To Be Continued.)

## A RAILROADER'S OBSERVATIONS

Track inspection premiums to road masters and section foremen serve two purposes: They make the traveler think that the companies take extraordinary care of roadbeds, which is all bluff; and the hope of a prize urges road masters and section foremen to work their men to the limit, which is not a bluff.

Live stock roads found guilty of violating the 28-hour law pleaded that failure to take live stock from cars as required by law was due to negligence of employees and to accidents. In no industry is negligence more severely punished than in the railroad business. The courts took no stock in the plea, but fined the companies.

"Negligence of employees" is a standing refuge behind which the companies hide. The roads frame up elaborate rules for safety in operation, and then carry on the business in such way as to make obedience to rules impossible. Get through, rules or no rules, is the motto. The eternal vigilance of employees is depended upon to keep things from going to smash altogether.

The general manager of the Pullman Company says that the porters, who are paid \$25 a month, are paid as much as they could command elsewhere. He claims that tipping is not due to small pay, but to the selfish desire of some passengers to get better service than others. It is a well known fact that the porter's wages are fixed low because he is expected to increase his compensation with tips received.

The Pullman Company can't afford to reduce rates—the business is so risky. How risky? Well, the railroads might not renew their contracts with the Pullman Company. A road running its own sleeping car service between Chicago and St. Paul says that its sleepers average \$10,000 per car per annum. Maybe the roads are looking with longing eyes at the juicy plum that is enjoyed by the Pullman Company.

The "public" is clamoring for lower rates, freight and passenger. The companies are crying out against it, and declaring that the reduction would have to come out of wages. Wages are screwed down pretty low now, and I fear they couldn't get it all out of wages. But all this is a bluff to keep the "public" from knocking down profits. Funny, isn't it, that whenever a reduction is considered the first thought is to take it out of wages? Don't touch profits. Keep up the profits. A queer fraternalism this brotherhood of capital and labor.

Speaking of brotherhood—the C. R. I. & P. recently sent out a circular to employees, which states that "our grand old road is approaching her 58th birthday and is better and stronger than ever; and this is a fitting time for every one of us to resolve to make the coming year the best in her history." What was the effect of the circular? Employees threw out their chests as though they owned the whole blamed road.

## .. Antipatriotism ..

Celebrated address of Gustave Herve at the close of his trial for Anti-Militarist Activity, before the jury of La Seine.

An excellent answer to Capitalist Jingism and capital exploitation of the need of international unity of the working class.

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28 City Hall Place,  
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## IN OVER THE MOUTH'

How the Small Clothing Dealers Are Feeling in This Depression—The Hat Strike and Its Effect on Retaildom.

By Retail Clerk, New York.

Retaildom is affected just now by a malady which the capitalist mind does not seem to be able to diagnose. According to "Men's Wear," a retail expert in portraying the condition of the retail trade of the country made the following statement:

"There are three kinds of retail merchants. They are all standing in water. The first class are in up to their chin. They have to increase their advertising, and while they have cut it out of labor, yet their expenses are still away out of proportion to the volume of business they are doing, and yet they are able to breathe through mouth and nose.

"The second class are in over the mouth, breathing through the nose.

"The third class are practically 'busted,' inasmuch as they are engulfed, and yet, credit and money have been so cheap that, for various ulterior reasons, they are kept afloat, though 'broke.'

The large stores are not affected by dullness in business. On the contrary, the most of them claim that the volume of business is larger this year and the closing months of the preceding year, than in the fall of 1907 and the early part of 1908. The general complaint in retaildom is to the effect that business is unprofitable. As a Socialist and a reader of S. L. P. literature and the Weekly People, I am not so easily taken in by that cry. I cannot see where the big bosses are living on a lower ratio. My own employers are living as luxuriously and are spending as little time in their business as they ever did, still they join the chorus of the majority—"Business is unprofitable!" What is it then that retaildom is suffering from?

I have previously called attention in The People to the slogan of the manufacturing interests, "From the manufacturer to the consumer." The middleman must be eliminated and the manufacturers are determined about it. The retailers, being forced to buy in a well-organized and trustified market, and to sell in a competitive market, are up against a problem which they cannot solve. Those of the type of my own employers, for instance, I mean those who are designated by the retail expert in "Men's Wear" as being in water up to their chin and the fellow who is engulfed.

Gradually and quietly most of the retail stores are passing over unperceived by the public into the hands of the large manufacturers and the Dry Good Trust, H. B. Clafin Co.

The haters' strike is the topic of the day in retaildom. Despite the fact that the commercial magazines insist that the strike is broken and that the factories are running a good part of their regular time, there are no goods received in any of the stores. Some few large retailers claim that they will receive in the next few days large shipments of hats from England, but as to that I am not so sure. In my opinion, if the haters were industrially organized they would stand more than a fair chance of winning their strike.

The pure and simple idea of unionism is to allow the cap makers, the straw hat makers and all the hat makers in England to scab it upon the workers employed in that particular branch of headgear that are now on strike. Where are the former great industrialists to bring this truth home to the unfortunate, misled members of our class?

The season for hats starts about the early part of March, and the new styles usually come in about the end of February. In fact "advance" styles are shown as early as the first week in February. With no "advance" styles in sight it is funny to see the window dressers ornament their windows with styles that are pretty much "advanced" in age. Business is business, and if the strike lasts much longer, then caps, stitched cloth hats, and maybe silk hats will become the latest styles.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

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## WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1909.

Of all the various ways in which the  
imagination has distorted truth, there  
is none that has worked so much harm  
as an exaggerated respect for past  
ages. This reverence for antiquity is  
repugnant to every maxim of reason,  
and is merely the indulgence of a  
poetic sentiment in favor of the remote  
and unknown. It is this, for instance,  
which inspired the poets with their no-  
tion of a Golden Age. It is this, again,  
which gave to theologians their idea  
of the primitive virtue and simplicity  
of man, and of his subsequent fall  
from that high estate.

## BUCKLE.

## A YONKERS CAPITALISTESS.

Mrs. E. S. Cochran of the Smith Car-  
pet Works in Yonkers bequeathed at her  
death \$1,000 to each of the 250 employees  
of her establishment who worked in the  
place for twenty years or more.

Making a conservative guess—after  
computing the wages received by these  
250 operatives and the surplus value they  
created—Mrs. Cochran pocketed from  
each the sum of \$5,000 a year. Twenty  
times this amount makes at least \$100,  
000, plundered from each of these veter-  
ans during the not less than twenty  
years of their martyrdom. There being  
250 of these incumbents, the net result is  
\$25,000,000 plundered and \$250,000 re-  
turned.

Looked at from this angle of vision  
Mrs. E. S. Cochran is a financier of no  
mean genius.

There is another angle of vision from  
which to contemplate the occurrence.

The 250 veterans may well be believed  
to be jubilant. Their horizon is not to be  
supposed, wide enough to take in the  
facts which would lead to conclusions  
that would dampen their gratitude. Their  
gratitude is boundless. The increased  
rapidity of their blood's circulation, al-  
ways produced by agreeable emotions,  
means a larger measure of health than  
they would otherwise be now enjoying,  
with twenty years' carpet factory dust  
in their lungs. This, in turn, means a  
number of other good things—all be-  
stowed upon them by the death of Mrs.  
E. S. Cochran.

Looked at from this angle of vision  
Mrs. E. S. Cochran attests her lineage  
kinship to Scotch grandee Cawdor. Like  
him, nothing in her life became her like  
the leaving it.

## THE CASE OF KNOX.

Washington despatches state—it is a  
settled thing that Senator Philander C.  
Knox is to be Taft's Secretary of State—  
all difficulties being removed."

The facts in what may be called the  
"case of Knox" stand out plain.

The Constitution forbids a member of  
Congress to fill, during the time for  
which he is elected, any civil office under  
the authority of the United States the  
emoluments whereof have increased during  
such time.

Philander C. Knox is a member of Con-  
gress; the office of Secretary of State is  
a civil office under the authority of the  
United States; during Knox's incum-  
bency the emoluments of the Secretary  
of State have been raised; Knox's term  
of office does not expire until March 4,  
1911.

Applying the Constitutional clause to  
Senator Knox, he, along with all the  
Members of the Congress that increased  
the emoluments of the Secretary of  
State and whose terms do not run out on  
or before next March 4, is disqualified  
from serving as Secretary of State. One  
and all the disqualifications recited in the  
Constitution cover the Senator.

Now follows another sequence of  
facts.

Senator Knox was appointed Secretary  
of State by Taft, the appointment to  
take effect as soon after noon of next  
March 4th as the Senate can convene and  
take favorable action upon the appoint-  
ment.

After President-elect Taft's choice was  
made, the Constitutional clause was

thought of. It was found a bar to the  
Senator's confirmation.

Upon the discovery a bill was introduced  
in the Senate reducing the emoluments  
of the Secretary of State back to what  
they stood before. The bill was  
passed by Congress. It is law to-day.

## ENLIGHTENING TWO CONTINENTS.

Elsewhere in this issue is published  
an English translation of an exceptional  
article concerning the Trades Union  
(craft Union) Movement in America  
that has been furnished to the Journal  
of Metal Workers in Germany by a  
special correspondent, now taking ob-  
servations in this country.

The article in question is exceptional  
in that it represents a "new departure"—  
the effort on the part of the German  
Unions to ascertain American  
facts for themselves, and, having as-  
certained them, make them public.

What is the reason for the "new depar-  
ture" is lies on the surface. The German  
Unionists must have long felt  
mystified concerning America. The re-  
ports about the American Labor Move-  
ment that hitherto have appeared in  
German papers must have raised ex-  
pectations concerning American affairs  
that the issues regularly belied. There  
was a paradox—glowing description  
followed by inglorious net results.

It is to be hoped that the example  
set by the Metal Workers' Union of  
Germany may be followed by others.

At this point we venture a suggestion.

The author of the article which ap-  
pears translated in this issue, writing  
before this a humorous letter about  
things American in general to an  
imaginary friend in Germany, said:

"I hear you contemplate sending your  
eldest son over here. Don't do that.  
Send the younger. He is dull and  
fresh (dumm und frisch). He would

soon rank among the 'prominent figures'  
in the German-American Move-  
ment." Our suggestion is—See to it  
that the men whom the Unions send  
over here from Germany to gather in-  
formation do not belong to the cate-  
gory of the "dumm und frisch"; let  
them be men of clear and independent  
minds. Then, like the present corre-  
spondent of the German Metal Workers'  
Journal, they will escape being stu-  
fied by the "prominent figures" in the  
German-American Movement. Then a  
flood of light will be thrown concerning  
America upon the minds of our  
comrades in Germany, to their own  
benefit, and not a little to the help of  
the Movement here, which has been  
retarded by the business interests of  
people in this country whose business  
interests require them deliberately to  
furnish false information abroad in  
favor of the guilds, misnamed craft  
Unions, of America.

KNOX'S APPOINTMENT BY TAFT.

Nothing now stands in the way of any  
of the numerous gigantic corporations,  
which already overshadow the Govern-  
ment, to "log roll" with some Senator or  
Representative. Any of these may  
now be induced to legislate in obedience  
to some trust by the promise of speedy  
reward with some civil appointment, the  
emoluments to which he, in order to ren-  
der the reward an all the fatter plum,  
may later be easily argued away.

The instant the letter of so wise a  
clause as the one just evaded, is dis-  
regarded because of the absence of actual  
intent at corruption, actual intent may  
later be easily argued away.

Nothing now stands in the way of any  
of the numerous gigantic corporations,  
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# THE DAILY PEOPLE

# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## SEES CLEAN THROUGH THE S. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—For the first time in an uninteresting life of a wage slave, I feel that I am not the victim of political job hunting. "Vote, vote," without an industrial organization to back up the vote is nothing more than the child's prattle in the nursery. The best answer you can get from S. P. log-rollers for backing up a political victory is force and legislation. Force means a repetition of the Paris Commune, unless it is an intelligent organized force. But this impossible in a political organization that recognizes the craft method of organizing unions, or in other words, workers fight workers.

I am unable to understand how veterans in the S. P. can preach "Workers of the world unite," and then adopt an anti-immigration plank. Besides, to applaud the tactics of the A. F. of L. legislation is the limit of stupidity. Look to Colorado: Forty thousand voters expressed their desire for an eight-hour day; did they get it? Yes, in the neck. And that is just where the S. P. will get it in case of a victory, unless it improves its methods.

Comrades, I had an awakening. The mystery of 1908 began to grow upon my nerves. Bryan, with Gompers as vote-catcher, failed, and the million votes conceded by the Republicans press for the S. P. had me floating in a hazy mist of delight. But the morning after election? Why, it was awful! I began to realize that large audiences, news reports, magazine articles and oratory had not and could not line the workers up for the final battle. It was about this time that I remembered a pamphlet, "The Preamble of the I. W. W.," which had been handed to me at the Chicago convention. I had given it a hasty reading and wondered at that time why the party did not recognize so progressive a movement. As a matter of fact, the so-called party press entirely ignored its existence. This conspiracy of silence came home to me in my muddled state of mind in which the disappointing vote had cast me. But instead of making excuses for the vote I dug up my preamble, studied it, wrote to Trautmann, received literature and a bundle of protest blanks pertaining to Preston and Smith. These fired me, body and soul. I began to realize that I was some one's plaything. Two comrades languishing in a Nevada prison, and not a Socialist paper of the Socialist party publishing one word of the matter. Can you, comrades, blame me for quitting and not supporting such an organization?

I am a wage worker in this industrial hell. I want but one brand of Socialism and that must be outspoken antagonism to the class which holds me in bondage. Why can't we come together as workers upon a common ground, banded together with the ties of comradeship to fight the class that is riding us to perdition? I do not find any pleasure in denouncing anything, but I recognize the dire necessity of so doing. We denounce the capitalist in order to show their faults and the faults of the system: the same rule works with regard to party organizations. What do I care if the Catholic master is worse than the Protestant master, or vice versa. I want to see both abolished. It is no worse to be exploited by a Capitalist than it is by a Socialist. The "Socialist" press wrings dollars from the comrades, the comrades boost the circulation, and the private press sells advertising space. These cockroach advertisers must get business or they withdraw their ad., and therefore the reader becomes the victim.

Now the privately-owned and controlled press of the S. P. may think it can deny this and justify such methods of running a "working class" paper. It may howl its head off at the "sore head," but I think I can give that press an interesting account of what this advertising means to the workers. We are told in a New York daily paper how the New York traction company manipulates its business and how Trinity Church gets its dividends; the millionaire Socialists fight out a personal scrap in its columns, and the editor plays the peace maker by saying that both are wrong in some respects, and then all three shake hands, bury the hatchet and clear the way for the next inning. And what do the readers gain by such exhibitions. I read the whole silly squabble, and finally concluded that not one of them knew what he was talking about. Is this the kind of an educator

that will free labor from industrial bondage? What is wanted is an intelligent press, no clash in tactics, all teaching the same clear cut methods and tactics the Socialism that rings true and a press that keeps one posted on the important happenings and their import and effect upon present and future of the working class. This is the press that makes a working class revolution possible.

Comrades, it is time that you were investigating the two parties. One of the organizations must be wrong. If they were both right I would not give much for the intelligence of the workers that would stay divided upon the question of name. No, it is not the name, but the methods that divide the two movements. The Socialist Labor Party accuses the Socialist party of being undemocratic, reactionary and Socialist in name only. And you are doing yourselves and fellow workers an injustice if you fail to investigate these charges. Investigation proved to me that capitalism was wrong, and also that the Socialist party was wrong. It is the Socialist party continual cry for "votes" that breeds the Christian Socialists. Often I have been cautioned not to antagonize this man or that man. Such tactics are not in accord with the principle of Socialism, and are the direct fruit of a vote-catching practice.

An S. P. man does not like craft unionism, but will not say so to the craft unionist: he wants him to vote the Socialist ticket. Isn't this true, my Socialist party friends? You muzzle yourselves and swallow the gag. And the S. P. press applauds you for it. But say one word against craft unionism and you are termed a "union smasher." How soon you lose the respect of the press. Why? Because the press, being privately owned, needs circulation to get ads.

The press of the Socialist Labor Party does not cater to a bunch of get rich advertisers, because the party as a whole does in reality own its press. And its papers are circulated for their educational value. It is not muzzled. It dares and does express its honest opinion, no matter upon whose toes it treads. And you my comrades are taught to howl "De Leonism" the moment an S. P. man is criticized. Get out of that rut or the chariot wheels of progress will crush you. You are in the quagmire now up to your neck and fast sinking in the span of votes that you do not get. And worse still, if you did get the full count which meant victory upon the political field, your defeat would be something awful to contemplate. Don't point to me and cry, "Don't cross the bridge until you come to it," and don't suggest "one thing at a time." I refuse to swallow your "one thing at a time" phrase. This is a day and age when things are done in pairs. Blind movements are worse than no movements at all. Your estimate of my ability as a house mover would sink to zero if I should attempt to move your house across the river and have no idea how I would cross the bridge when I got to it. But if I prepared and looked forward, knowing what was before me and planned to successfully accomplish thefeat your estimation of my ability would be unbounded; all the confusion and result that would otherwise follow would now be missing. That is what I call sensible action. Prepare before for what is sure to follow. The political Socialist who says "one thing at a time" really believes that time will suggest means and methods of ushering in the Industrial Republic. I feel more safe in being prepared. We do not know what will confront the movement. But as capitalism advances to its doom, the workers must intelligently advance to grasp the reins when the day comes.

The press will be the greatest factor in shaping the work of the workers, if that press be a unit both in means and methods. Turn to the pages of the S. P. press and you will look in vain for articles with the educational value that make for intelligent progress. You will look in vain for articles, such as "Russia's Latest Message" and "The Slum Element in a Revolutionary Movement," as are contained in the S. L. P. leaders, of the best propaganda for Socialism.

Miss Nesbitt comments in these words:

"But you are too hard on us who are Christians. I know you don't believe any of us are revolutionary or even sincere in our protests against existing conditions, and most likely my little word will not make you change your opinion."

It is now my turn to say: "Don't be too hard on us who are opposed to the Christian Socialist Fellowship." While I have no authority to speak for Daniel De Leon, I still believe I am justified in saying, that neither he nor I hold the views attributed to us by Miss Nesbitt. The religious belief of a Socialist does not concern me nor the

## AS TO PARTY OWNERSHIP OF ITS PRESS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I was disgusted to read this morning in the Daily People the slur against our Comrade Robert Hunter because he holds much stock in the "Call." What is the difference between Comrade Hunter and Comrade Daniel De Leon? It is well known that the Daily People owes De Leon \$10,000. Why this mud slinging against Comrade Hunter? I think it very wrong to say that Comrade Hunter may walk away with the "Call." I don't think Comrade De Leon will either walk away with the Daily People on account of its owing him money. I am sorry to see so much mud-slinging in the movement. I hope you will publish this protest although I am a Socialist party man.

A' LETTISH S. P. MAN.

New York, February 17.

[Our correspondent furnishes the lamentable spectacle of what a man comes to who allows himself to be turned into sausage guts to be stuffed full of false information, and full of the false reasoning that the manufacturers of false information need to thrive upon.

For one thing, the Daily People does not owe De Leon \$10,000. It does not owe him half that amount. It does not owe him one-quarter the amount. The huge figure of \$10,000 was essential to help our correspondent's senseless conclusions along.

For another thing, our correspondent is badly mixed concerning "ownership" and "creditorship," together with the powers that "ownership" and "creditorship" respectively impart. John, who owns a house, may owe Dick \$1,000. That makes Dick his creditor, not the owner of his house. If Dick demands payment he can only demand the \$1,000; he can not demand the house. Should Dick sue and obtain judgment, John will know how to raise the funds. He remains owner of his house. Creditorship does not invest Dick with ownership over John's house.

De Leon, being a human being, consequently, liable to the human weaknesses that the Socialist Labor Party wisely guards against when it insists upon its own ownership of its press, he may become a rascal, or go crazy, which, in this matter, amounts to the same thing, and turn upon the Party, and demand or even sue the Party for the money owed to him—as more than one other, formerly supposed S. L. P. man, has done. That is all the harm he could do—and the others did. He, like them, being only vested with the rights of a "creditor," and not with the rights of "ownership," these latter being vested in the Party itself, all he could do would be to insist upon payment, and the Party would, in his instance, as in all other previous and future ones, know how to raise the money to pay the judgment creditor. He would get away with his money—not with the paper—just the same as any other of many creditors of the Party press would fare.

But to all Christians, Hebrews, Japanese, Hindus, Negroes, Spiritualists, Materialists, Agnostics and Atheists who turn to Socialism as a remedy for our intolerable wage slavery I say "Welcome, comrade."

And you, sisters, join us. We need your co-operation, and you have also a world to gain.

Axel Staal.

Jersey City Heights, N. J., Feb. 13.

## AN ANSWER TO "INDEPENDENT INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 6."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please find enclosed letter from Cincinnati to W. Pickering, with answer to same. It was considered that, on account of the pernicious nature of the fact that it appears to be one which is being distributed all over the country, we request the publication of the answer.

P. Martin.

Toronto, February 16.

(Enclosure)  
43 Salem avenue,  
Toronto, Feb. 16, 1909.

Chas. H. Schmidt, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Comrade and Fellow Worker:—Your letter to W. Pickering having been read by him, at the regular business meeting of Local 198, I. W. W., I was instructed to reply to the same.

You say that former recruiting Local 8, I. W. W., of Cincinnati, refuses to delegate its power to any General Executive Board, because you believe that the power of the workers should remain in their own hands, and if they delegate that power to a G. E. B., it (the G. E. B.) will usurp their power and eliminate the organization. If you will think for a moment you will notice that such language is exactly that of a certain breed of Anarchists. The Anarchist does not believe in organization, because organization they became a species of Lazzaroni, dependent upon the State.

We have in these days to counteract and fight many influences. One of these is the Anarchist idea of no government, no authority, delegated or otherwise.

Social science has proven that to be a fallacious doctrine and entirely inconsistent with the conditions resulting from the development of the tools of production, which conditions compel co-operation, organization, and, flowing inevitably from these, a Central Directing Authority.

Hoping you will accept this answer in the spirit of fraternal relations in which it is written, I remain yours for Industrial Freedom.

F. Martin.

## INQUIRE OF ROOSEVELT'S PET, SENATOR BORAH OF IDAHO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Will you please inform me, for the benefit of many inquirers, what has become of the "Hon." honest Harry Orchard?

E. B. Ford.

Faribault, Minn., February 13.

To be consistent with your theory, you

could not send a delegate to a conve-

tion, because immediately you do so, you

are delegating your power to some one,

and that some one, according to your

theory, will usurp his power and de-

moralize your organization by acting con-

trary to your wishes.

It is correct to say that the emancipa-

tion of the working class must be in the

work of that class, and that all power

must remain in their hands. But we in

Toronto cannot see how, having a G. E.

B., takes the power out of their hands,

any more than when a bunch of capi-

talist politicians are placed in Congress,

it, therefore, takes the power out of the

hands of the capitalist class.

Did the Shermans and Mahoneys, etc.

take the power of the workers away

from the workers? Did the Trautmann

—St. John—Walsh bunch steal that

power? Admittedly they did for a time.

But where is the power of the workers

now? Exactly where it belongs, right

in the hands of the working class itself.

No bunch of fakirs on earth can take

and keep the power of the workers per-

manently. It can, and may be done for

a while. But that is only because of the

uneducated conditions of the workers

themselves. Therefore, the real fault

is the only fault, lies, not in the electing

of a G. E. B., but in the mental state of

those who do the electing.

You may abolish the G. E. B., but

that will not make the workers any

wiser, and it is plain that as long as the

workers will put up with a crooked

G. E. B., that in itself proves that they

are not as yet capable of directing their

own organization by direct government,

even if it were possible to do so, which

it is not, as I have shown.

As to the latter part of your letter.

It is hard to believe you were serious

when you wrote it. I mean where you

suggest a Secretary-Treasurer who is to

be paid \$75 per month you have overthrown

your whole argument against a G. E. B.

The Secretary-Treasurer becomes the

central directing authority. He becomes

the connecting link between the local in-

ustrial unions and the organization as a

whole must govern itself through him.

Now, acting in that capacity, he will

have a certain amount of power, whether

you like it or not. Furthermore, experi-

ence has shown that a one man power is

vastly more dangerous than that of a

a dozen or more. The one man has no one

to check him, whereas if there are a

number of men, the chances are one will

check the other.

You may say all this is absurd. But

it is not more so than the fact that by

the suggestion of a Secretary-Treasurer at

\$75 per month you have overthrown

your whole argument against a G. E. B.

The Secretary-Treasurer becomes the

central directing authority. He becomes

the connecting link between the local in-

ustrial unions and the organization as a

# OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.  
Paul Augustine, National Secretary.  
28 City Hall Place.  
CANADIAN S. L. P.  
National Secretary, Philip Courtney,  
144 Duchess Ave., London, Ont.  
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.  
(The Party's literary agency).  
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.  
NOTICE—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p.m.

CONNECTICUT S. E. C.  
Regular meeting held February 15 at headquarters, 34 Elm street, Hartford. J. Breuer was seated in place of A. Gierginsky, and elected as chairman. Fred Lechner and Chas. Backofen absent.

Minutes of previous meeting adopted with the correction that Section Kensington received due stamp during the last half year.

Communications: From J. Marek, New Haven, regarding the report of N. E. C.; from Section Hartford, nominated Hartford as place of next State convention.

The State Secretary, Fred Fellerman, reported that nothing has been received during the last month, therefore he recommends more activity in the sections.

No further business on hand the meeting adjourned.

Frank Knotek,  
Rec. Secy.

## MINNESOTA S. E. C.

The S. E. C. of the Minnesota S. L. P. met in regular session February 12, at 822 Edmund street, St. Paul, Minn., with Hans Carstensen in the chair. Members absent, C. J. Smith, N. J. Peterson, Samuel Johnson, N. J. Cikanek.

Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Communications received: From Section Duluth, regarding nomination of Theodore Zollner for member of N. E. C.; from A. Olson, Parkers Prairie, Minn., announcing his vote for Herbert Johnson for office of State Secretary; from Section Winona, announcing that Section cast its vote for Herbert Johnson for office of State Secretary, also enclosing money order for \$1.50 for dues stamp; from H. W. Bodholt, Sturgeon Lake, Minn., announcing his vote for Herbert Johnson for State Secretary; also a remittance of two cents; from Paul Augustine, National Secretary, regarding election of member of N. E. C. and credentials; from Paul Augustine, National Secretary, as to our not electing an N. E. C. member; from Paul Augustine, National Secretary, acknowledging receipt of \$12 from Otto Olson, State Secretary S. E. C.; from H. W. Bodholt, Moorhead, Minn., announcing his vote for Herbert Johnson for office of State Secretary, also remittance of \$1.50 for dues.

Motion that S. E. C. meet again March 4. Carried.

Motion to appropriate \$5 to buy 500 copies Weekly People for distribution. Carried.

The vote cast by Minnesota S. L. P. resulted in the election of Herbert Johnson, 475 Como avenue, St. Paul, Minn., as State Secretary.

Motion that State Secretary be paid 77 cents for postal expense, etc. Carried.

Financial report: Balance on hand January 16, 1909, \$21.12; income, \$2.34; expense, \$5.17; balance on hand February 12, 1909, \$20.19.

Motion to adjourn. Carried.

William E. McCue,  
Recording Secretary.

## MINNESOTA NEW STATE SECRETARY.

After a long and effective service, Otto Olson, State Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party in the State of Minnesota, has resigned from that office and Herbert Johnson, 475 Como avenue, St. Paul, Minn., has been elected his successor. All correspondence should be addressed to the latter.

## INTERNATIONAL PARTY MEETING IN CLEVELAND, O.

The second international meeting jointly arranged by the various nationality Branches of Section Cleveland, S. L. P. takes place SUNDAY, February 28th, 3 p.m., at Hall No. 7, 2273 (old No. 358) Ontario street, German-American Bank Building. Addresses in all languages represented in the local party organizations. Such international meeting is held every two months for the purpose of making the comrades of the various nationalities better acquainted with each other and bringing about a more harmonious system of agitation and propaganda work. The first meeting of this kind was highly successful and it is hoped that the members will turn out in even greater numbers at this coming meeting. Bring your friends and shop mates and be assured you will have an interesting time.

Organizer.

## OPERATING FUND.

This has been another week of trial to make ends meet. Were ours a privately-owned plant, the burden would be of our own making, and, consequently, borne without a murmur. But when we consider that every member of the Socialist Labor Party, in one sense, is a direct partner of our plant, that member must not shirk his share of the burden. The Party Press was founded for the purpose of disseminating Socialist thought by means of literature. We at this end, will see to it that that literature is supplied; it is your duty to distribute the same. Sell literature, obtain subscriptions to the Daily and Weekly People, and, if it is not in your make-up to act as an active partner, play the silent role by contributing to the Operating Fund.

L. O. Medicie, Pittsfield, Mass. \$1.00  
Holzer Schmalz, Pittsfield, Mass. 1.00  
J. A. Newport News, Va. 1.00  
Per E. Moonells:

H. Schrader, Albany, N. Y. 50  
M. Hirschfeld, " " 1.10  
John Heller, " " 1.00  
M. S. Schenectady, N. Y. 1.15  
W. Cronfeld, " " 1.00  
J. Bigstaff, " " 50  
D. Harrison, " " 50  
J. Kousch, " " 50  
G. McCune, " " 50  
Louis Tott, " " 50  
Paul Kulsca, " " 35  
P. E. DeLee, Troy, N. Y. 5.00  
Section Gloversville, N. Y. 1.75  
W. J. Wuest, Utica, N. Y. 50  
J. Hochenberger, " " 1.00  
J. Rapp, " " 50  
F. W. Gerner, " " 50  
Geo. F. Spettel, St. Paul, Minn. 5.00  
Section Plainfield, N. J. 2.00  
L. C. Haller, Los Angeles Cal. 50  
Geo. Brown, " " 50  
L. D. Bechtel, " " 1.00  
Mrs. Susie Bast, " " 50  
"Friend," Astoria, N. Y. 1.00  
W. Suessbrich, Rockville, Conn. 1.00

31.35  
Previously acknowledged \$3,572.12  
\$3,603.47

## BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM LECTURES.

The following public lectures by Socialists and non-Socialists will be held under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum of Section Erie County, S. L. P., every Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, at Florence Parlor, 527 Main street. An instructive general discussion follows each lecture. All readers of this paper are invited to attend and bring friends. Admission is free.

Schedule:  
February 28—Boris Reinstein on "Slum Elements and Slum Tactics in a Revolutionary Movement."

March 7—John Shilliday on "Postal Censorship of the Press and Mails."

March 14—Attorney Arthur W. Hickman on "Government."

March 21—Boris Reinstein on "Paris Commune and the Lessons It Teaches."

March 28—Attorney Wm. J. Shields. Subject to be announced.

April 4—Willard C. Vincent on "How Shall the Working Class Organize?"

## LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.

The Socialist Labor Party will give a series of lectures this winter at their headquarters, 1717 South Broadway, second floor, St. Louis. Lectures begin at 2:30 p.m.

March 7—The Difference between the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party.

March 21—Does the Socialist party Represent the Interests of the Working Class?

Discussions after each lecture. Admission free.

## DETROIT LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party of Detroit holds free lectures Sunday afternoons, 2:30 o'clock, at 72 Gratiot avenue. Instructive and important subjects are discussed. Workingmen should attend.

SUNDAY, February 28. Speaker: J. Kortan. Subject: "The Class Struggle."

## CHICAGO COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

A grand commune festival in commemoration of the Paris Commune will be held under the auspices of the allied Branches of the Socialist Labor Party (Section Cook County), at Workmen's Hall, 18th and Wacker streets, Chicago, SUNDAY, March 14, 1909, at 3 p.m. Good speakers in all languages. Tickets twenty-five cents a person.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

## MILWAUKEE COMMUNE FESTIVAL.

Section Milwaukee will celebrate the Paris Commune SUNDAY, March 21, at Bohemian Turner Hall, corner Twelfth and Wine streets. One of the features on the program will be the presentation of the play, "The Dawn." It shows the position which the enlightened working class of America and Japan takes in an imaginary war between the two countries. Admission is 15 cents; after 6 o'clock, 25 cents. Ball in the evening.

The Committee.

## PRESENTS FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR

We herewith acknowledge receipt of further presents for the Bazaar and Fair to be held to-day at Grand Central Palace.

W. Wipkey, Newport News, Va., cash donation 50 cents; E. Schade, Newport News, Va., cash donation 50 cents; Tetsuya, cash donation of one dollar; F. Nagier, Springfield, Mass., box of cigars; Miss B. Greenberg, city, three pin boxes, three card boxes, two soft pillows, three glove boxes; O. Ruckser, West Haven, Conn., seven thermometers, hand carved frame; Mrs. C. E. Warner, New Haven, Conn., glass fruit dish; G. L. Sasche, San Francisco, Calif., crochet centre piece, one dozen turnover collars (hand-made); George and Co., Washington, D. C., four boxes of gent's collars and cuff buttons, six scarf pins; Geo. Signerowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y., upholstered foot-stool; Emil Mueller, Brooklyn, N. Y., pair of cuff buttons, fancy ladies collar, two towels; Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Clark Joslyn, Boston, Mass., fancy embroidered centre piece; J. S. city, book, "Singer's Poetical Works"; Int. Art Crayon Co., Brooklyn, N. Y., large pastel portrait of Daniel De Leon; E. Brodsky, city, two bottles of witch hazel, three one-pound boxes of talcum powder; Mrs. J. Opman and Miss Bessie Opman, Jerome, Arizona, handkerchief case and apron and necktie holder; Mrs. Elizabeth Zimmerman, city, two fine sofa pillows; Mrs. P. J. Dwyer, Dunlap, Wash., handsome hand-embroidered sofa pillow; Meyer Stodel, New Haven, Conn., Yale and Harvard colors; I. D. Robbins, Brooklyn, N. Y., two boxes of toilet soap, three bottles of cologne, stick of shaving soap; D. Schwartz, Brooklyn, N. Y., pipe, four tobacco holders and ash receiver; T. Bossie, Brooklyn, N. Y., pocket knife; Miss Hattie Zimmerman, city, six parspaeiotuted pictures; Mrs. H. Gunn, Schenectady, N. Y., pair of crochet slippers; Miss Grace Gunn, Schenectady, N. Y., four pin bags; Miss Jessie Gunn, Schenectady, N. Y., two burnet wood articles; Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Hunter, city, six bronze figures of Washington and Lincoln; Mrs. L. Miller, Brooklyn, N. Y., toilet article; Mr. and Mrs. J. Donohue, city, pair of fine framed pictures, one dozen boxes of Babbie's soap powder; Mrs. A. Grieb, city, numerous small articles.

31.35  
Previously acknowledged \$3,572.12  
\$3,603.47

## THE METAL WORKERS' ORGANIZATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

(Continued from page 4.)

practiced by the superficially devout. Of course, no member not in "good standing" may be admitted; no Negro may be proposed for member; or one not acquainted with the trade or helper may be taught the trade. Whoever violates this commandment is certain of expulsion.

All the Epistles were read off. The new brothers now had to turn about front view, towards the assembled "Unionism." The latter thereupon "formed," marched by in Indian file, and pressed the hand of each of the new brothers, saying: "I am happy to see you," or "I am pleased to shake hands with you as brother."

Also this cup, bitter in its flatness and endlessness, passes. The "procession," to the Financial Secretary, follows. But he seems to be wholly oblivious of the much boasted about American "hustle." The same time that it took to attend to the few dues payers, elsewhere as many dozens are disposed of. The bookkeeping or technique of dues paying is at fault for this slowness.

The waiting afforded enough leisure to observe and study the meeting. The seventh point on the order of business was now "before the house for discussion"—announcements. A brother has died: That his departure should be honored by rising from their seats was unanimously agreed, but not upon the length of time when they should remain standing. There was quite a diversion of views over the period of 1 to 3 minutes. After quite a long debate it was decided that the "dead brother" should be honored by a one minute rese. Several "chronometers" flashed out of pockets. After the 60 seconds had elapsed loud protests were hurled against the chairman for overstepping the time. From the sublime to the ridiculous is only one step.

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Then the expulsion of three members, for strike breaking, was moved. One of them, who happened to be present grumbled a few indistinct words in assumed astonishment, and was then requested to leave the hall. The Committee of Investigation also left the hall, but at once returned, and recommended expulsion.

A vote was taken at once, resulting in unanimous concurrence with the recommendation. This procedure, with its equanimity and swiftness was of frequent occurrence. As difficult and ceremonious as admission is, so easy and unscrupulous is the firing out. One member was sentenced to pay a fine of \$25. He could or would pay only \$15. Nothing doing. Result? Expulsion.

According to the by-laws, the order of business of every meeting contains 15 points, which are gone through with slavish exactness. Almost all of these points would almost anywhere else be disposed of in fifteen minutes under "miscellaneous." In small things the master shows himself here in a frightful manner.

It was after midnight when I received my membership book. The admission fee (\$5), two months' dues (\$2) and assessment (\$1), in all \$8 or \$3.60 marks it cost me to become a member. But what does that matter? These few dollars weigh nothing with a proletarian, when he thereby acquires "brotherhood" in the "best and strongest Union on God's earth."

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Nosey as I am, I desired my card to admit me in another local of the same national organization. I assumed that once a member of the organization, one has without further ado access to any other lodge of the same organization. This assumption was a big mistake.

At the door of the other lodge I began to practice my newly acquired "secret work." Three knocks at the door—the peephole opened. The shoved-in book disappeared, but neither did it return, nor did the golden gate open. After several Rabelaisian quarters of an hour, moments of embarrassment two "conductors" appeared and solemnly led me in, in front of the "baptismal stone." After a solemn speech of salutation by the chairman, I was allowed to take a seat among my "beloved brethren."

Libraries I looked for in vain, in all our lodges. It seems the members need neither education nor knowledge. "In Europe that may be necessary," said a Union secretary, "but we American boys learn those things at school." Neither have I heard any addresses delivered at any of the dozens of meetings which I attended. Political, above all religious discussions are strongly tabooed; also economic topics. Not so? Oh, yes, the by-laws kindly grant twenty minutes for this thing. But it seems the brothers do not think much of this—concession, or care to avail themselves of it. The organs, mostly monthly journals, have hardly any agitational value; their educational work is infinitesimal. Their principal contents treat of the doings of the various vice-presidents. These are reported with complacent amazement.

The ritual, described in the lodge which I joined, is nevertheless scanty. It is true the observance of the same

was jealously guarded, and its prescriptions rigidly enforced. But in other places we saw and heard of still greater mummeries, and the discussions and comments on the ritual were still more nauseating.

Then also the admission fee in other Unions is higher—\$5, it is \$10, and for re-admission \$15. Thus the admission fee rises until, in some organizations, it is as high as \$300, which is nearly 1,300 marks. This alone makes clear that our Union is not for nothing called in every respect "the best and strongest on God's earth." Only once did we run across, in a large village on the Mississippi, one of our lodges which did not use the ritual. This laxness is calculated to cause "full blooded American Union man" to fall on his back. This ceremony-less lodge was a so-called German one. The sergeant at arms a "Bohemian colleague," and the chairman, a "Hungarian colleague," were not able to read the Talmud of the Union. Against an obstacle so massive there is of course no help.

Fortunately, these ritual exercises are very meagerly attended. Were 500 men to attend a meeting the "exercises" could not be gone through. With only a few dozen participants such pastimes can be indulged in. As a matter of course, were the American Trades Union movement an organization, that is, an organization with participating cells, instead of a machine, moved by the officers, the whole trappings of mummery, the closed doors, and the high initiation fees would disappear tracelessly. A movement, that is to be carried on by the mass of the people must be easily accessible to all, and also easy to understand.

Tell a "true blue Union man" that the European Trades Unions have no rituals, but an open door to all workers, and he will cry out in horror: "For heaven's sake, you must be overrun by Pinkertons, and the employers know all your secrets." Is he answered, that abroad the Unions have no secrets, and that the Pinkerton tribes are fostered on American soil through Union mummery, and the corruption among Union officials is a thing hardly known abroad, he will simply shake his head like a doubting Thomas. With him it is a settled thing that in the "old country" the Trades Union movement is not "up to date," as in America.

The wonder is that, under such circumstances, there are many workers who still pick their way along the path of proletarian duty, across this labyrinth, so beset with hindrances. The wonder is that in spite of the leaders weariness of the meetings, they attend the same at all. In Germany, for instance, it would be an impossibility to convene a meeting a second time, after such brain-sapping discussions. It seems that, here where the saying "Time is money" should be superlatively applied, the worker fails to perceive the tragic consequences of the master in which his time is quandered and his perseverance is abused. But it was Herbert Spencer who was struck with the god-like patience of the Americans towards abuses.

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